The 'Politics' of South African Indian Identity: Real or Imagined

Nirmala Gopal
Bonita Adele Marimuthu

Abstract

Bhana (2001) and Landy, Maharaj and Mainet-Valleix (2004) argue that people of Indian origin have lost much of their ancestral legacy as they became South Africans over the last 140 years. Using a largely qualitative lens this paper explores whether Indian cultural identifiers influence South African Indian identity and concludes with the voices of respondents showing a hybrid cultural model instead of an exclusively Indian identity model. The hybrid model is informed by especially second and third generation respondents' exposure to Western and African influences. Data for this paper were produced from 21 face to face interviews with three generations of South African Indians in the Metropolitan Area of Durban.

Keywords: Diaspora, Indian, Identity, South Africa

Introduction

In today's global world of movement our personal identities are changing. So, 'where is my 'home'?' and 'what is my 'identity'?' have become essential questions in one's life (Bandyapadhyay 2008). These are questions that resonate with the Indian diaspora in South Africa which dates back to the arrival of the first Indians to South Africa. Indian immigrants to South Africa in the late nineteenth-century were distinct from the Black African population as well as the ruling white settler elite in terms of their origins, motivations, belief systems, customs, and practices (Gopal, Khan & Singh 2013) or in other words their identity. The community considered 'Indian' in South Africa today

has its roots in labour migration; the semi-forced scheme of indenture under British government in India and the colony of Natal from 1860 onwards. In the period 1860 to 1911, a total of 152 184 indentured workers were transported to Natal from the Madras Presidency (today's Tamil Nadu and Andhra Pradesh states) and the Bengal Presidency (from what are today's states of Bihar and especially Uttar Pradesh) (Dhupelia-Mesthrie 2007; Mesthrie 2006; Hiralal 2013). The Indian diaspora, was caused by the British desire for an alternate source of cheap labour after the abolition of slavery. Large mercenary scale immigration of Indian men and women began; to various parts of the globe under British colonial control such as such as South Africa, Mauritius, Surinam, the Caribbean, Fiji and East Africa (Hiralal 2003; Gautam 2013; Desai & Vahed 2013).

The first Indians to South Africa, referred to as indentured Indians, arrived on 16 November 1860 in the ship SS Truro with 342 indentured Indians on board. Between 1860 -1861, a further five ships transported a sum total of 1 360 men and women (Sulliman 1997). According to the India Ministry of External Affairs (2000) and Mesthrie (2006) these labourers were the first of the 152184 'human cargo' shipped to the shores of Durban. Indians in the late nineteenth century came from various backgrounds involving differences in language and culture. Indentured Indians from the North differed in terms of their cultural practices from those of the South. Cultural practices of the North and South were rooted in Hinduism, but differed in matters of detail (Mesthrie 2007). Modi (2010), concurs that Indians in the diaspora are heterogeneous in terms of religion, caste, linguistic groups, ethnic origins, language spoken, cultural practices and the place of origin. Even for Mesthrie (2007) the original composition of Indians included a Hindu majority, a small proportion of Muslims and even smaller number of converts to Christianity. Morris (1968: 105) (quoted in Modi 2010) argues that despite their divergence, identity as 'Indians' is derived from their identification '... with the common country of origin and from cultures that were closer to each other than to those of other racial sections'.

Landy, Maharaj and Mainet-Valleix (2004) and Raman (2004) assert that although South African Indians can be broadly categorised into two main categories, the 'old diaspora' and the 'new diaspora', 'it is dangerous to pose too much of a dichotomy between "indentured workers" on the one hand and "merchants" on the other, especially since at the conclusion of their contracts, "many indentured workers found employment in industry; some became

white-collar workers and small-scale traders"'". A few decades later, after the system of indenture was abolished in 1917, the ex-indentured stayed on as 'free labourers' alongside the 'free passengers' or traders (Modi 2010; Mesthrie 2000:10 - 11; Pachai 1971:6 - 7). Chetty's 1991 study significantly points to how the Indianness of the trader was distinct from the Indianness of the worker (Chetty 1991). Despite the harsh working conditions, of the 143 000 Indians that came to Natal, only 27 000 returned home when the system of indenture was abolished. By 1936, the number of Indians rose to 219 925, of whom about half were born in South Africa (D'Souza 2008:36). Experiences in South Africa distilled a core sense of Indianness, a kind of unity in diversity (Mesthrie 2007).

In contemporary South African society, around 80% of the 1.2 million Indians live in KwaZulu-Natal, with the major concentration in Durban, where the majority of the indentured Indians and their descendants settled. The majority lived in the densely populated apartheid townships of Chatsworth and Phoenix. Chatsworth was established in line with the Group Areas Act, when the city Council resolved in 1962 to close down the Magazine Barracks and transfer residents to sub-economic housing in Chatsworth, mainly in Westcliff and Croftdene, with a small number in Bayview. Smaller towns such as Tongaat, Mount Edgecombe, Stanger, and Umzinto along the north and south coasts, as well as in Pietermaritzburg, the capital of KwaZulu-Natal, and in the midlands and northern Natal towns of Ladysmith, Newcastle, Dundee, and Glenco catered for the growing Indian population (Desai & Vahed 2013). Around the late seventies Phoenix (a township north of Durban) was established to accommodate increasing numbers of working class Indians.

South African Indianness

The spatial settlement and social reproduction of the Indian *Diaspora* in South Africa is a consequence of apartheid segregationist policies such as the notorious Group Areas Act that enforced racial divisions through forced removals and settlement (Gopal, Singh & Khan 2013). This did not distract SAI's from maintaining their Indian identity. Important aspects of South African 'Indianness' took root through a dialogue with events in India. The idea of India and 'homeland' were important components of 'sense of identity and belonging'. As a way of continuing the 'connection,' the surplus wealth from traders and indentured Indians was sent back 'home' to their fam-

ilies and villages (Bhana & Brain 1990).

Around the mid 1920's Indian identity in South Africa was strongly influenced by the growth of the nationalist movement in India, which helped formulate ideas of Indian subjectivity, and an association with 'others' in scattered geographical locations. During this time the Natal Indian Congress was established in 1894. The National Indian Congress (NIC) was largely modelled on the Indian National Congress, whose primary purpose was to 'keep India alive to Indian South Africans was established in 1894.

In the 1940's state legislation directed against Indians increasingly undermined their right to citizenship (Raman 2004). In wider society, Indians were collectively regarded as 'coolies' or as constituting the 'Asiatic menace', a term which encompassed ideas of disease, economic competition, and struggles over social space. Given these factors, Indians were largely thrown back on themselves, and had little choice but to form some loose sense of 'community', however fragile and contentious that might have been at times.

The idea of a free independent India, as well as the intervention of its politicians on their behalf at particular junctures, helped negotiate the tension between belonging and alienation that many Indians experienced in South Africa. This complex relationship with India can be traced back to the time of the first migrations of Indians to South Africa, during which time Gandhi set about developing a 'new kind of Indian', embedded in ideas of India's ancient cultural heritage. Raman (2004) suggests that, '*The growth of the independence movement in India had an enormous influence on Indians in South Africa, both in terms of their own formulations of identity, and in the ways that they fought for political recognition there'*. In addition, during his stay in South Africa in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, Gandhi deliberately set out to create a 'new kind of Indian' built on the idea of an ancient Indian cultural heritage, these findings have also been supported by Landy, Maharaj and Mainet-Valleix (2004).

The Diaspora

Religion as a discursive field of Indian identity which included inviting Indian religious figures to South Africa, kept India alive in people's minds, but also had a much wider significance (Vahed 1997). Bhana and Vahed (2005) in their book entitled 'Gandhi South African 'Indian' Cultural and Religious

Orientation' point to Gandhi's approach based on 'Indianness' that he used to create alliances and cultivate the leadership of various Indian organisations across language, religious and caste divisions. Gandhi shaped the cultural and religious orientation of South African Indians. For Indian South Africans, cultural transformations gave rise to a particular form of hybridity, based on an identity that was not fixed, but a point of identification, an act of becoming in relation to Blacks and Whites. A complex interaction with India helped to shape the political and social identity of Indians in South Africa. The notion of the 'Motherland' became a potent symbol of 'Indianness' invoked by the young radical intelligentsia (e.g. Dadoo, Goonam Naidoo, Monty Naicker) as well as other sections of the Indian community in the 1940s. In his research on the influence of Bollywood movies in the Indian diaspora's identity construction and notions of home and tourism behaviour to India Bandyapadhyay's , findings revealed that the Indian diaspora's imagination of India is strongly informed by Bollywood movies. His findings further demonstrated nuances in different generations of the Indian diaspora reasons for travelling to India. The first generation's nostalgia arises from watching Bollywood movies, and as a result, creates a motivation to travel to India. The second generation travel to India mainly to experience the new 'modern' country, portrayed in contemporary Bollywood movies. The first generation, who have never seen India before are motivated by Bollywood movies that enable them to romanticise their homeland and create an urge to visit (Bandyapadhyay 2008).

Fanon (1986) and Bhaba (1994) observed that colonialism produces its own particular forms of hybrid identity. Dhupelia-Mesthrie (2005) discusses Bhana and Vahed's research agenda that focusses on 'activities that signified values transplanted from India' underpinned by the notion that 'immigrant communities recreate the worlds they leave behind in their new environments'.

Diaspora studies have questioned the essentialist notions of identities: religious, gendered and ethnic, and the enduring 'myth of return' (Hardill & Raghuram 1998:255) to the 'ancestral homeland' among immigrants (Klein 1987:68; Hole 2005). Similarly, Gautam 2013 argues 'The individual as the carrier of cultural baggage transports it into new cultural surroundings where he sorts out his experience and adapts himself in a new country'. In her analysis of Gujarati Hindu women in Sweden and the United Kingdom, Hole argues that 'the homeland' conjures up nostalgic memories of the 'better past' to which they long to return. She states that:

'Their shared experiences and backgrounds also make a sharable desire of return … they are longing to return'. This 'urge to return to their homeland' means that these women will 'never truly settle' and therefore are 'neither here nor there' (Hole 2005:324). Researching the issue of Indian languages in South Africa Sooklal (1991) observes that during the 1990's few opportunities existed for mastering Indian languages and scriptures: Indian languages were marginalised in the school curriculum.

The indentured and their descendants instituted a range of customs, traditions, beliefs and values in Natal. These were inherited and transplanted from India, yet refashioned in a fluid and complex process. 'It is not unusual, given this rich religious history that the Hindu community has come to occupy a significant place among the minority religious groups in South Africa' (Desai & Vahed 2012. When the first Indians migrated to South Africa they brought the intrinsic values and images of temples with them (Bridjraj 1998; Maharaj 2012; Sookrajh 2012; South African Hindu Maha Sabha 2012). In the early days of indenture a small temple or shrine was set in a yard under the shade of some trees or near a river. With the passage of time, these temples began to assume greater dimension in structure and construction when local groups combined and pooled their resources. By the beginning of the 20th century elaborate structures, 'replicas of the architecture of temples of the Motherland', dotted the South African landscape. The formation of the South African Hindu Maha Sabha as the national synod representing the cultural and religious aspirations of the South Africa's Hindu community was the brainchild of an outstanding Sannyasin (monk) Swami Shankaranandaji Maharaj who visited South Africa at the invitation of the Arya Samaj movement in Natal.

Hoffmeyer (1995) asserts that during the apartheid era, westernisation amongst the South African Indian diaspora of all faith groups was a source of emancipation from their religious belief system. Radhakrishnan (2008) maintains that 'Recent literature on the Indian diaspora has identified a 'paradox' regarding the 'homogeneity' and 'heterogeneity' of its communities networked around the world'. Scholars such as Anderson (1983) and Werbner (2002) have developed theoretical concepts regarding the Indian Diaspora, such as 'Imagined Diaspora' i.e. an imagined cultural and structural boundary of ethnic contestation where the community is seen as transnational homogeneous group. The concept was earlier used in defining the imagined community (Anderson 1991).

The image of India as a sacred homeland of parents and forefathers is based on shared memories. India today presents a different image for the new generation of PIOs. Roy (2002) adds that migrants preserve their ties to their homeland through their preservation of, and participation in, traditional customs and rituals of consumption. He further adds that expatriates are adamant and passionate about such habits as motherland eating habits (Reading Communities and Culniray communities: The Gastropoetics of the South Asian Diaspora, Parama Roy: 2002). With reference to the Indian diaspora, Sanghvi and Hodges (2012) perceive it as diverse; comprising of a host of 'languages, religions, and ethnicities, making it difficult to combine them into one homogenous group'. Gautam (2013) compares various Diasporas and their relations to their countries of origin. He believes that the idea of an Indian Diaspora as a transnational social community/group can be compared with that of the Jewish Diaspora. He adds that in the Polish diaspora, loyalty to the fatherland (Poland) plays an emotional role. He maintains however, that 'to the second and third generation of Indians in Europe, the image of India is ambiguous'. It is not based on the notion of birthplace, citizenship and patriotism. Instead it is based on collective imagination of India. Desai and Vahed (2010) in their study on Indian identities augment the notion of ties with the homeland by asserting, 'It has become popular to visit India in search of "roots" even among those who are not certain where their ancestors originated and the search is usually in vain'. They further contend that participants who traced roots indicate 'this was not so much to seriously re-link to the homeland but to satisfy a desire to see where their ancestors hailed from'.

Using the Indo-Canadian diaspora as a case study, Singh and Singh (2014) Diaspora, Political Action, and Identity: A Case Study of Canada's Indian Diaspora) offer a political notion of the Diaspora. They maintain that 'the political activity of diasporic subjects is complex, revealing a heterogeneous identity that cannot be determined by categorical assumptions'.

Indians in the late nineteenth century came from various backgrounds involving differences in language and culture (Mesthrie 2007). Mesthrie adds 'Indians became one of the most multilingual communities in South Africa in the first half of the twentieth century'.

Broeder, Extra and Maartens (ND) in their research on rhetoric and facts about multilingualism in South Africa, with a focus on KwaZulu-Natal and the metropolitan area of Durban argued that 'Indian languages are rarely conceived as core values of culture by Indian South Africans, at least in terms

of communicative use. Most Indian South Africans speak English at home. However, for many of them, Indian languages hold symbolic value'. Prah (2007) in a review on the language question in South Africa with respect to the challenges, which face the issue of the promotion of indigenous languages maintained, 'given its rich cultural mix, which should be a source of economic social and cultural strength, South Africa, like all the other former colonial countries of the continent is still yoked with the burden of language and cultural colonialism'. Sagacious multiculturalism will permit the celebration of all South Africa's languages and cultures and should allow cross-fertilization and inter-penetration of individuals and groups across cultural and linguistic boundaries. But even then, democracy requires the pre-eminence of the cultures and languages of the majorities. In her research entitled 'From "ghetto" to mainstream: Bollywood in South Africa' Ebrahim (2008) purports 'Most South Africans coming from Tamil- and Telegu-speaking (i.e. South Indian) backgrounds seem eager to consume vocal South Indian dissident view. Any perceived imitativeness of Hollywood does not its South African fans; on the contrary, most cite its 'wholesomeness' (usually referring to Bollywood's lack of explicit sex and excessive violence) as being distinctive from Hollywood. North Americans may deem Bollywood an most South Africans regardless of so-called 'authenticity'.

Anti-Indian Sentiment

During the apartheid dispensation South Africans Indians were in limbo in terms of their political status. In the current (democratic) dispensation they feel alienated probably because of the 'anti-Indian' resentment which is said to be on the rise (News 24 - 8 July 2014). News 24 expands the debate by explaining 'The so called African-Indian acrimony can be traced back to the 1950s. In 1949, public rioting against Indians engulfed the city of Durban and its surrounds, even threatening to spread to Mahatma Gandhi's experimental *ashram* of non-violence in Phoenix. In 1951, a young Nelson Mandela wrote of his personal doubts and those of his fellow African nationalists towards South African Indians'. Adding to the debate on the anti-Indian sentiment is a newspaper by Patel (*Opinion* 02 Aug 2017) where she contends, 'In KwaZulu Natal (KZN), a 'In KwaZulu Natal (KZN), a group calling itself Mazibuye African Forum has called for the 'liberation of KwaZulu-Natal from Indians'.

Additionally Patel reminds readers of playwright Mbongeni Ngema's song 'AmaNdiya' ('Indian') that purportedly 'promoted hate in sweeping, emotive language against Indians as a race'.

Identity Framework

Fearon (1999) argues that identity is 'people's concepts of who they are, of what sort of people they are, and how they relate to others' (Hogg and Abrams 1988, 2) and national identity describes that condition in which a mass of people have made the same identification with national symbols – have internalised the symbols of the nation ...' (Bloom 1990: 52). Motyl (2010) adds that identity, while malleable, is malleable only within limits. If identity changes, it does so only over time and in response to both external stimuli and internal realignments. However some elements of identity, those designated as biological, do not change. Motyl expands on the notion of identity 'Identity is situational, but rooted in certain intrinsic characteristics that are not situational'.

In terms of social identity the Social identity theory specifically explains social identity as a person's knowledge that he or she belongs to a social category or group (Hogg & Abrams 1988). A social group is a set of individuals who hold a common social identification or view themselves as members of the same social category. Lewis (2012) holds that Social identity is one of the recent theories of inter-group bias. He further explains that 'It refers to the desire of individuals to strive to maintain some perceived superior distinctiveness conferred by membership within an in-group – distinctiveness that enables the in-group to compare more favourably with out groups'. Tong and Chang (2008) draw attention to Dweck's theoretical framework which suggests that individuals might differ in their beliefs concerning how much social identities eNews 24 re fixed and enduring aspects of the self. Tong and Wang refer to this group as Group Entity Belief (GEB). Tong and Wang distinguishes as individuals who feel that the part of them that is defined by their social groups is basically an inalienable part of who they are and would only vary marginally over the long term or even not change at all. This group has a long term attachment with each other which will always remain an essential part of their self-definition.

In a social transaction, shared identity compensates for loss of indivi-

duality on the expectation that the other will reciprocate. What the individual gets in return for relinquishing individuality has been characterized as a type of empowerment, where group identity counterbalances the threat of the power of dominant forces (Drury, Cocking, Baele, Hanson & Rapley 2005) (quoted in Lewis 2012). One way in which people make sense of their complex social world is through social categorization, perceiving themselves and the people they meet as members of social categories (e.g. men vs. women; Europeans vs. Americans) (Derks, Stedehouder Ito 2015). These researchers further maintain that Social categorization induces people to think of themselves as group members (Tajfel & Turner 1986; Turner *et al.* 1987) and is the starting point for a wide range of positive and negative intergroup phenomena (e.g. social identity, intragroup helping, prejudice, stereotype threat).

Methodology

MacMillan and Schumacher (2001:166) define a research design as '*plan for selecting subjects, research sites, and data collection procedures to answer the research question(s)'.* The research design for this study will be of a quantitative nature. Data for this study were produced through face-to-face interviews with 21 respondents located in Durban, Kwa-Zulu Natal. The primary aim of this study is not to understand individual constructions but instead discursive views through which Indian South Africans give meaning to 'Indianness'. Respondents were selected through snowball sampling and availability across the greater Durban area. There were 10 males aged between 31 and 76 years, and 11 females aged between 21 and 86 (Refer to Table 1 below). Interviews were conducted at a mutually arranged venue and each interview lasted on average one hour. All interviews were conducted in English. Since participation in the study was dependent on availability and willingness, the study unintentionally excluded those with divergent approaches or experiences. Questions were facilitated by a structured interview schedule which focused on issues regarding their identity. Interviews took a conversational form with all participants sharing information with great enthusiasm. The first section of the schedule contained open ended questions and the second closed ended questions.

Using a working model of thematic analysis (Gopal & Marimuthu 2015) the data were analyzed through a systematic procedure, which began by

searching through the interviews conducted with respondents for repeated patterns of meaning in describing and understanding South African Indian identity. In the second part of the analysis, codes were produced which highlighted potential patterns. *'A coding framework represents the operations by which qualitative data is broken down, conceptualized and put back together in new ways, it is considered as the central process by which theories are derived from data sets'* (De Vos 2005:340). First each interview was coded, and these codes were matched across the twenty seven interviews. The next step-involved production of a thematic map where themes were refined in relation to the data from all respondents. Graphs reflecting the closed ended responses follow the thematic analysis.

Results and Discussion
Seven themes that arose concerning identity formation, are now discussed for each of the three generations (see appendix 1 for respondents' profiles) Generation 1 biography, defined as those born between 1934 and 1954. Generation 2 biography defined as those born between 1955 and 1975 and generation 3 biography defined as those born between 1976 and 1996. All generation 1 participants have the prefix A, generation 2 participants have the prefix B and generation 3 participants have the prefix C. This is followed by results of the closed ended questions, and a synthesis of the findings.

The Seven Main Themes for Identity
Theme 1: Characteristics that Define Indian Culture and Identity
Generation 1 namely **A1, A4,A5 A6** and **A7** explained, 'it is our mannerisms, values and religious practices and the type of food that we eat, morals, trustworthiness and the type of clothing we wear' while A2 and A3 added, 'heritage'.

B1 explained it is, 'My birth from Indian parents and my childhood lessons and upbringing in an Indian home in South Africa. The religious celebrations and rituals that I participate in are of Indian origin'. **B2** commented differently 'I look Indian according to people (from comments when I travel) but I don't consider myself Indian apart from a small segment of religion and some food options. I enjoy breyani does that make me Indian? I don't think so- the same

with prayer if I'm near a church I go in and Pray to Christ, does that make me Christian- I don't think so. However, strangely with the recent Anti-Indian sentiment in KZN, I have started to question how others see me'.

B7 maintained, 'My genetic make-up, religion, food, culture, music, general characteristics and accent characterizes me as Indian'. **B1** asserted, 'I do not consider myself as India's Indian. I am first a South African and the Indian that I am is just by way of birthright. The difference is that an Indian of India is a true Indian, speaking the respective dialect and practicing actively their religion and culture. I am not an Indian and so I have been exposed to the Indian way of life but I am a South African with Indian heritage but not a true practicing Indian'.

C4's response showed a hybrid identity, 'it is my values, morals, family life and lifestyle passed on from generation to generation that is a pivotal aspect of defining me as an Indian. However at the same time my South African heritage and exposure to different cultures and lifestyles in my country of birth has developed me into an integrated identity that embodies the traits of both being proudly South African and Indian'. As far as **C5** is concerned, 'it is an element of religion combined with a strong family/ community that is important in defining one's Indian identity'.

The above responses while indicating some similarities between the generations also highlighted some differences in views. Dweck's theoretical framework which suggests that individuals might differ in their beliefs concerning how much social identities are fixed and enduring aspects of the self. Tong and Wang refer to this group as Group Entity Belief (GEB) supports these above findings. However, generation 1 was largely complementary in their views. Some dissenting perspectives were noted in generations 2 and 3, which is understandable. The stereotype that all South African Indians identify as Indians rather than South Africans has been challenged by some of the responses noted above.

Theme 2: Differences between South African Indian Culture and Culture Practised in the sub-Continent (India)

A1, A2, A3, A4 and **A5** professed 'we are more modern…. we tend to do things

in a big way' while **A6** and **A7** maintained (and) 'we follow our culture strictly …. We spend lots of money to do prayers and festivals etc'.

B2's response was 'Firstly, I don't think that we can homogenize either the sub-continent of India or the city of Durban for that matter. I actually don't think I have anything in common with practices in India. I've been there twice (not because I wanted to but because of family wishes) and I've spent well over a month and maybe Diwali is the only common feature of significance, we don't in Durban pray excessively like people do in India (they have a 'mandir' on every street like London has a pub on every street), or share their obsession with Bollywood movies. Most importantly, I think that men in South Africa treat women better than the men in India regardless of a woman's age (I have seen women with children building roads and climbing precarious ladders on building sites without protection, and men not giving up their seats to old women on buses and trains- appalling)'.

For **B3** the differences are minimal while for **B4** 'South Africa tends to be very ethnically focused --- in India people are very relaxed and accepting of other dialects and beliefs. Our prayer also tends to be very long when compared to how prayers are performed in India. In India weddings are arranged very quickly whilst in SA it tends to be based on the availability of venues'. **B5** identified a material difference such as 'Durbanites have the influence of Western ideology and are keen on e.g. glamorous weddings unlike India'. **B4** affirmed**,** 'In Durban people are very dogmatic and tend to look at issues along ethnic lines as opposed to looking at matters objectively. I have found that prayers in India tend to be performed much quicker, as opposed to SA, where our prayers can be very long In SA we have weddings during the day, whilst it is common practice for weddings to occur at night in India. **B5's** view was**, 'I** am of the opinion that the practice of Hinduism in India is a way of life as opposed to it being a fraction of our lifestyle in South Africa'.

C2 asserted, 'Indians in South Africa and Indians in India dress differently, South Africa takes on a more western style, and rituals are performed differently, in order to suit people's lifestyle'. **C3** maintained, 'The tendency to follow a vegetarian diet in India is much stronger than in South Africa. Furthermore, the commitment to religion is stronger for people from India'.

C4 claimed, 'I think we have evolved from the subcontinent practises to adapt to our own unique Durban cultural practises to a certain degree but still ultimately embodying the subcontinent's main principles. Religion and religious festivals in Durban have been tailored to be practised in a manner that is respectful of South African Laws and practices, as well as religious tolerance of other races and religions. Cuisine has also been adapted and Durban has its own identity and uniqueness in terms of cuisine, language, culture, dress and lifestyle'.

Commenting on entertainment and dress sense **C4** maintained, 'The gap has narrowed as India itself has started a transformation from a more conservative standpoint to be a bit more liberal and adventurous with integrating western dress sense with eastern style'. **C4** was of the opinion that with respect to the status of women 'transformation on the sub-continent has a long way to go in comparison to South African Indians where women are more liberal, career-orientated and independent'.

C2 believes 'Indians in India wear more traditional Indian clothing, while Indians in South Africa dress more like western society does. Rituals are followed to the T in India, while in South Africa; they are shortened to accommodate people's busy lifestyles. South African Indians speak English, whereas Indians in India speak their mother tongue language'.

C3 shared the following, 'Indians in South Africa have been exposed to many different cultures and experiences since arriving from India. These influences have caused South African Indians to stray from their heritage'. **C5** noted 'The subcontinent of India- its people- I feel pay particular attention to practicing and adhering to their religion on a daily basis. The South African society I feel, does not hold the element of religion with such importance in their daily life'.

Responses to the theme above evinced some strong views on differences between South African Indian culture and culture practised in the sub-continent (India). Particularly respondents commented on the length of religious rituals, meanings attached to weddings and dress code. Interestingly all generations in one way or the other recognizes the influence of western culture on South African Indian culture. Some respondents highlighted the strides South Africa has made in gender transformation when compared to India. Modi (2010),

concurs with the above findings and suggests that Indians in the diaspora are heterogeneous in terms of religion, caste, linguistic groups, ethnic origins, language spoken, cultural practices and the place of origin.

Theme 3: How Do you Feel about Indian Languages not Being Included as One of South Africa's 11 languages?

A1, A4, A5, A6 and **A7** expressed despondency, 'it is important to include all racially represented languages'. **A2** added, 'at least some schools offer it as a subject'.

B1 mentioned, 'I think that is fair. I do speak Zulu and Afrikaans fluently'. **B2** explained, 'I think that if you look at the small percentage of Indians in the SA population, then it makes perfect numerical sense for it not to be included as there are so many Indian languages. I think what is more important is if you define yourself as Indian and want to learn the language, it should not matter whether or not it's "official"'.

For **B4,** 'I do not believe that it is relevant to SA'. While **B5** was aggrieved, on the basis of 'not being a truly democratic reflection of the people of the country'. **B6** responded that the 'language question is complex and contested. Indian languages must be supported and developed by the respective communities and organizations interested in languages. However, the use of the various Indian languages in the public and political space is not established. Additionally, the number of people speaking the various Indian languages does not warrant them being classified as official languages. An official language has wide-ranging implications for the political, social and educational processes'. **B7** felt that 'it should be included for official recognition and propagation'.

Clearly, the views expressed on the inclusion of Indian languages as part of South Africa's official languages is a contested one. While generation 1 was unanimous of its inclusion, generation 2 agreed that for practical reasons it does not make complete sense. Generation 3 all agreed that Indian languages should not be part of South Africa's official languages. However researching the issue of Indian languages in South Africa Sooklal (1991) observes that

during the 1990's few opportunities existed for mastering Indian languages and scriptures: Indian languages were marginalised in the school curriculum.

Theme 4: In Terms of Indian Cultural Activities, Participants were Asked what Activities they Participate in. They were also Asked Where and When they Participate

Here all Generation 1 respondents spoke of participating in cultural activities such as 'Prayers and festivals at home and temples such as Umgeni Road. Mt Edgecombe and Greenwood Park temples as well as other temples close to home'.

B1 and **B2** had the following to say, 'Nothing really, except the annual Deepavali festival'. **B3** and **B7** 'participate in most religious activities within the locality of their homes'. For **B4** it was, **'**Watching Indian TV, and listening to Lotus FM'. **B5** 'participates in Festivals, fasts, prayers and ceremonies in our homes or designated venues of worship. **B6** explained, 'I attend some organized cultural events like Deepavali and devotional activities at temples in Malabar in Port Elizabeth and Mount Edgecombe in Durban respectively'

C1, C4, and **C5** explained, 'Religious practices, auspicious prayers during the applicable periods as set out by the religious calendar which are deemed socially respectful mainly at home'. For **C2, C6** and **C7** 'We celebrate festivals on the Indian calendar, e.g. Diwali, on the auspicious date stated on the calendar, at home or at the temples' and **C3** mentioned, 'I attend weddings and funerals outside my residence. Within my residence, I participate in any prayer that is taking place. At home and at the venues that they are taking place'.

All three generations participate almost equally in Indian cultural activities either in the home or in public spaces like temples. These results are supported by social identity theory suggests that a social group is a set of individuals who hold a common social identification or view themselves as members of the same social category. Lewis (2012) further explains that 'It refers to the desire of individuals to strive to maintain some perceived superior distinctiveness conferred by membership within an in-group – distinctiveness that enables the

in-group to compare more favourably with out groups', this was evident in the results.

Theme 5: With Respect to Indian Music, Respondents were Asked If and Why They Listen to Indian Music

A1, A2, A3, A5 listen to Indian music because it reinforces 'religious ideals through religious and devotional songs' while **A4, A6** and **A7** 'listen to Indian music because they enjoy Indian music'.

B1 and B2 responded, 'No they do not listen to Indian music'. **B3** stated, 'Yes, it is good to listen to'. **B4** affirmed, 'Yes, I listen to Lotus FM and enjoy the music'. **B5** maintained, 'Yes, Classical Indian music is an art form and helps to maintain the element of language continuity'. For B6 it was, 'Yes, I do not understand any of Indian languages but I do play them in my car and some religious music at home'. While **B7**mentioned, 'yes, by preference'.

C1 reported, 'Yes I was brought up speaking the language and enjoy the various compositions'. C2 mentioned 'Yes, Some of the lyrics have meaning and I can relate to them' C4 and C7 explained 'Yes, I love the vibrancy and colourfulness of the musical beats as well as the western fusion with eastern music and I listen to all types of music'.C5 agreed, Yes, I enjoy listening to Indian music because it gives me a chance to remember the memories it is linked with. Also, I feel that it is an important element that connects to the Indian community while C3 and C6 responded 'No I do not listen to Indian Music'.

Generation 1unanimously confirmed that they listen to Indian music. Some generation 2 and 3 respondents do not listen to Indian music. The diversity in views has some resonance with Hoffmeyer (1995) who asserts that during the apartheid era, westernisation amongst the South African Indian diaspora of all faith groups was a source of emancipation from their religious belief system (probably includes music).

Theme 6: The Images that Came to Mind When Thinking about India

For **generation 1** respondents images that came to mind were 'The Indian flag…. Taj Mahal 'Indira Ghandhi…. Mahathma Ghandhi' and 'religion'.

B2 mentioned, 'Filth and squalor, a population who do not value their heritage-'. **B3, B4** and **B7** explained, 'Religion, spirituality Home, family and tradition'. For **B5** it was, 'Bollywood, poverty, colorful arts and crafts' while for **B6** it was 'Diversity, religion, color, crowds, architecture, wisdom, knowledge, poverty and suffering is what comes to mind when they think about India'.

C1explained that the images that come to mind when you he thinks of India are' Arthi (prayer) at the Ganges, rural Indian women clad in sarees and dots, cow' and C5 mentioned the 'high level of poverty and unemployment, a patriarchal society and exceptionally religious' and for C7 it was 'Temples and Taj Mahal'.

Generation one responses appear sentimental and positive. Hogg and Abrams 1988, 2) suggested that 'national identity is the condition in which a mass of people have made the same identification with national symbols or have internalised the symbols of the nation ...' as demonstrated in these findings in this group. However the results of the younger generation also support that of Motyl (2010), who denotes that identity, while malleable, is malleable only within limits and identity changes, it does so only over time and in response to both external stimuli and internal realignments. However, views from generation 2 ranged from positive to being quite critical of India. Generation 3 responses are interesting in that it is mostly positive although one would have expected this generation to be more critical and negative in their images.

Theme 7: South African Indians' Feeling of Connectedness to India

As expressed in the following sentiments A1 claimed, 'Yes there is a feeling of connection to India' and described this connection as 'our traditions have emanated from India so there will always be a connection'. For A2, A3, A5 and A7, it was 'yes, we are able to converse in our mother tongue easily, A4's

response was 'Yes, I think this connection comes from our inherited rituals' while A4 believed 'yes there is a connection through 'religion and India as our Mother country'.

B1 and B6 explained, 'We share heritage and culture. B2 responded, I feel I have nothing in common with Indians in India. B3, B5 and B7 maintained, religious, practices, language and food while B4 maintained 'openness,' C2, C4 and C7 maintained 'Religious beliefs; practices, language, customs, morals and values and C3 and C6 explained 'Apart from both being Indian, I have nothing in common with Indians in India' while C5 responded 'the levels of commonalties between myself and Indians from India are considerably low'.

Again, one notices generation 1 and their 'loyalty' to their home country. They still feel a connection as they have expressed in their responses. Generation 2 and is divided with some respondents expressing a connection and others not feeling connected. Thus correlating back to the social identity theory of Tong and Chang (2008) who draw attention to Dweck's theoretical framework which suggests that individuals might differ in their beliefs concerning how much social identities are fixed and enduring aspects of the self. Tong and Wang referred to this group as Group Entity Belief (GEB). Tong and Wang distinguishes as individuals who feel that the part of them that is defined by their social groups is basically an inalienable part of who they are and would only vary marginally over the long term or even not change at all. This group has a long term attachment with each other which will always remain an essential part of their self-definition. Nonetheless diaspora studies have questioned the essentialist notions of identities: religious, gendered and ethnic, and the enduring 'myth of return' (Hardill & Raghuram 1998:255) to the 'ancestral homeland' among immigrants (Klein 1987:68; Hole 2005).

Closed Ended Questions

The following graphical representations are responses generated from closed ended questions for which responses were asked. There were six closed ended questions in total.

Figure 1 below shows that all of generation two, 3 generation 1 and 6 generation three respondents see South Africa as home while 4 generation one and 2 generation three see India as home. These responses largely concur with other ddiaspora studies that have questioned the essentialist notions of identities: religious, gendered and ethnic, and the enduring 'myth of return' (Hardill & Raghuram 1998:255) to the 'ancestral homeland' among immigrants (Klein 1987:68; Hole 2005). In his research on the influence of Bollywood movies in the Indian diaspora's identity construction and notions of home and tourism behaviour to India Bandyapadhyay's , findings revealed that the Indian diaspora's imagination of India is strongly informed by Bollywood movies. His findings further demonstrated nuances in different generations of the Indian diaspora reasons for travelling to India. The first generation's nostalgia arises from watching Bollywood movies, and as a result, creates a motivation to travel to India. The second generation travel to India mainly to experience the new 'modern' country, portrayed in contemporary Bollywood movies. The first generation, who have never seen India before are motivated by Bollywood movies that enable them to romanticise their homeland and create an urge to visit (Bandyapadhyay's , 2008).

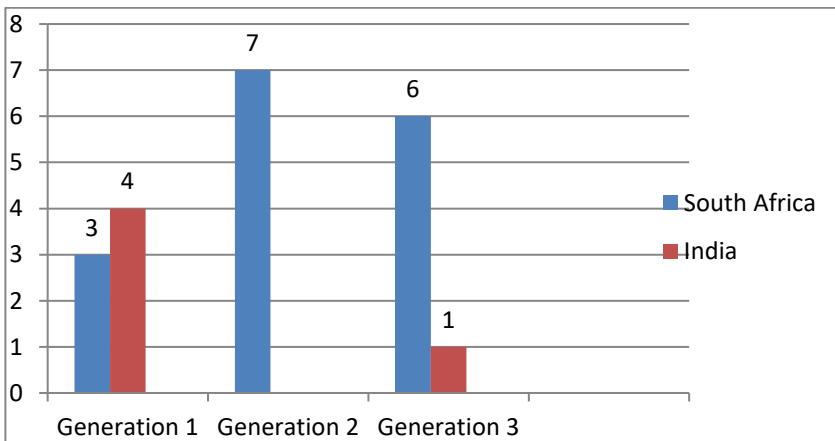**Which is home to you: South Africa or India?**

Figure 1: Respondents showing if South Africa or India is home.

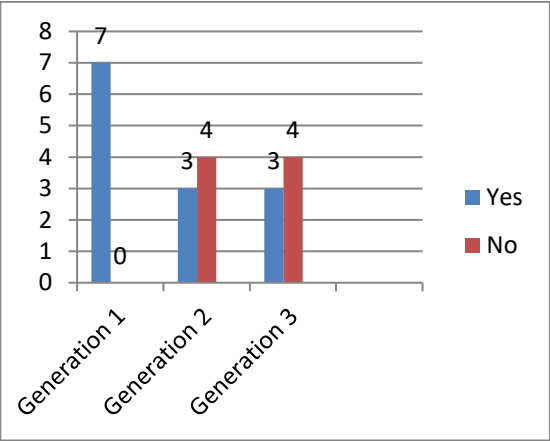**Do you speak any of the Indian languages?**

Figure 2.1: Respondents showing if they speak any Indian languages.

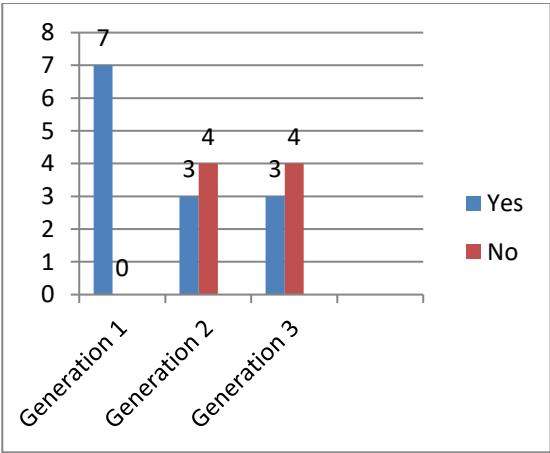**Do you think it is necessary to speak any Indian languages?**

Figure 2.2: Respondents showing if it is necessary to speak an Indian language

Figure 2.1 above displays that all generation 1 respondents speak an Indian language and think it is necessary while less than half of generations 2 and 3 speak an Indian language and don't think it is necessary (See Figure 2.2 above). Radhakrishnan (2008) maintains that 'Recent literature on the Indian diaspora has identified a 'paradox' regarding the 'homogeneity' and 'heterogeneity' of its communities networked around the world'. Scholars such as Anderson (1983) and Werbner (2002) have developed theoretical concepts regarding the Indian Diaspora, such as 'Imagined Diaspora' i.e. an imagined cultural and structural boundary of ethnic contestation where the community is seen as transnational homogeneous group. The concept was earlier used in defining the imagined community (Anderson 1991). Specifically on Indian languages Mesthrie (2007) argues, 'Indians in the late nineteenth century came from various backgrounds involving differences in language and culture' (Mesthrie 2007). Mesthrie adds 'Indians became one of the most multilingual communities in South Africa in the first half of the twentieth century'. Obviously, given its rich cultural mix, which should be a source of economic social and cultural strength, South Africa, like all the other former colonial countries of the continent is still yoked with the burden of language and cultural colonialism. Sagacious multiculturalism will permit the celebration of all South Africa's languages and cultures and should allow cross-fertilization and inter-penetration of individuals and groups across cultural and linguistic boundaries. But even then, democracy requires the pre-eminence of the cultures and languages of the majorities.

In Figure 3 below, most generation 2's feel secure as an 'Indian' in the current dispensation while most of generation 3 do not feel secure. With generation 2's there is almost a 50 – 50 split between those who do and those who do not feel secure in the current dispensation. Insecurities experienced by the various generations probably have its roots in South Africa's historical political discourse. During the apartheid dispensation South African Indians were in limbo in terms of their political status. In the current (democratic) dispensation they feel alienated probably because of the 'anti-Indian' resentment which is said to be on the rise (News 24 - 8 July 2014). News 24 expands the debate by explaining 'The so called African-Indian acrimony can be traced back to the 1950s. In 1949, public rioting against Indians engulfed the city of Durban and its surrounds, even threatening to spread to Mahatma Gandhi's experimental *ashram* of non-violence in Phoenix. In 1951, a young

Nelson Mandela wrote of his personal doubts and those of his fellow African nationalists towards South African Indians'.

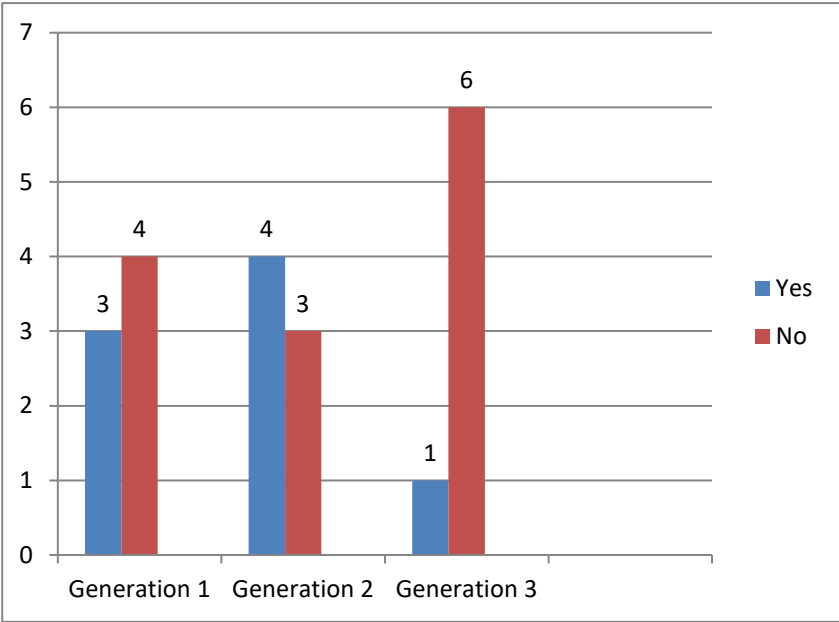**Do you feel secure as an 'Indian' in the current dispensation?**

Figure 3: Respondents showing feelings of secureness as an Indian in the current dispensation

Adding to the debate on the anti-Indian sentiment is a newspaper article by Patel (*Opinion* 02 Aug 2017) where she contends that, 'In KwaZulu Natal (KZN), a group calling itself Mazibuye African Forum has called for the 'liberation of KwaZulu-Natal from Indians'. Additionally Patel reminds readers of playwright Mbongeni Ngema's song 'AmaNdiya' ('Indian') that purportedly 'promoted hate in sweeping, emotive language against Indians as a race'.

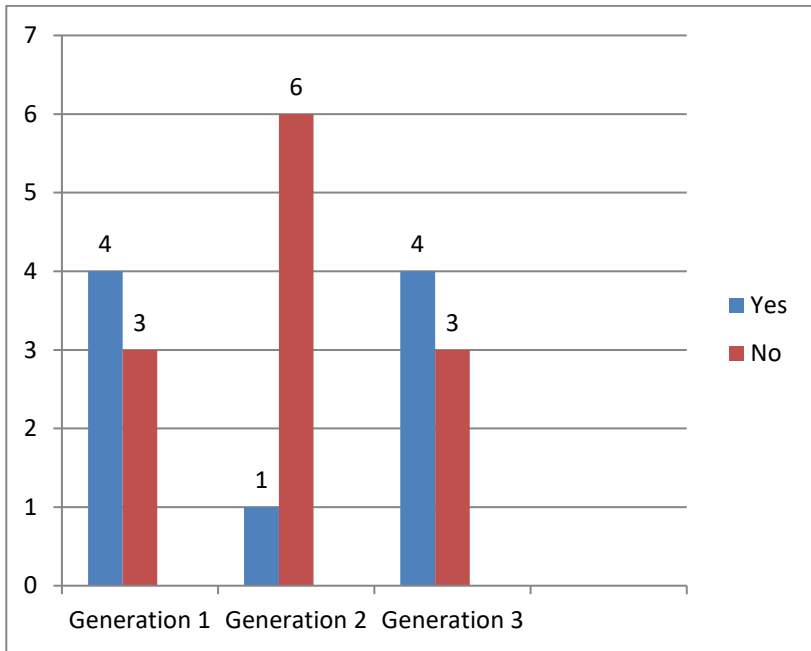**Have you tried to trace your ancestral roots?**

Figure 4: Respondents showing if they have traced their ancestral roots

Figure 4 above shows the majority of generations 1 and 3 have tried to trace their ancestral roots while the majority of generation 2 has not tried to do so. The image of India as a sacred homeland of parents and forefathers is based on shared memories. India today presents a different image for the new generation of PIOs. Roy (2002) adds that migrants preserve their ties to their homeland through their preservation of, and participation in, traditional customs and rituals of consumption. Desai and Vahed (2010) in their study on Indian identities augment the notion of ties with the homeland by asserting, 'It has become popular to visit India in search of 'roots' even among those who are not certain where their ancestors originated and the search is usually in vain. They further contend that participants who traced roots indicate 'this was not so much to seriously re-link to the homeland but to satisfy a desire to see where their ancestors hailed from'.

Synthesis of Findings

The findings show similarities across three generations with respect to characteristics that define Indian culture and identity. For example all three generations spoke of 'our mannerisms, values and religious practices and the type of food that we eat, morals, trustworthiness and the type of clothing we wear'. Upbringing in an Indian home in South Africa as well as DNA (genes). G3 added the notion of an 'integrated identity …' but at the same time my South African heritage and exposure to different cultures and lifestyles in my country of birth has developed me in to an integrated identity that embodies the traits of both being proudly South African and Indian'. Respondents were then asked how local Indian culture (practiced in Durban) differs from the Indian culture practiced in the subcontinent of India. All three generations agreed that religion takes a more serious form in India than in South Africa. The three generations agreed that Durban Indians have adapted cultural practices in line with western influences for example (A1, A2, A3, A4 and A5) included 'we are more modern…. (B5)…… 'Durban has incurred the influence of Western ideology and is keen on e.g. glamorous weddings unlike India'. I am of the opinion that the practice of Hinduism in India is a way of life as opposed to it being a fraction of our lifestyle in South Africa……and C4- I think we have evolved from the subcontinent practises to adapt to our own unique Durban culture practises to a certain degree but still ultimately embodying the subcontinent main principles of culture practise in India. Religion and religious festivals have been tailored to be practised in a manner that is respectful of South African Laws and practises, as well a religious tolerance from other races and religions.

(C4) …….. - Cuisine has also been adapted and Durban has its own identity and uniqueness in terms of cuisine, language, culture, dress and lifestyle

(C3) …….. - Indians in South Africa have been exposed to many different cultures and experiences since arriving from India. These influences have caused South African Indians to stray from their heritage.

While there was consensus from all generations that the exclusion of Indian languages as one of the 11 official South African languages was not really significant generation 2 had some respondents who advocated for its inclusion

for example…… B5 was 'aggrieved, on the basis of it not being a truly democratic reflection of the people of the country'. B6 responded that the language question is complex and contested. Indian languages must be supported and developed by the respective communities and organizations interested in languages. However, the use of the various Indian languages in the public and political space is not established. Additionally, the number of people speaking the various Indian languages does not warrant them being classified as official languages. An official language has wide ranging implications for the political, social and educational processes. B7 felt that 'it should be included for official recognition and propagation'.

All three generations participate in similar cultural activities such as praying at home, or in various temples and celebrating Diwali and other auspicious festivals.

With respect to Indian music again all three generations listen to this type of music although Generation three provided greater depth in their reasons for example C2 mentioned 'Yes, Some of the lyrics have meaning and I can relate to them' C4 and C7 explained 'Yes, I love the vibrancy and colourfulness of the musical beats as well as the western fusion with eastern music and I listen to all types of music'C5- Yes, I enjoy listening to Indian music because it gives me a chance to remember the memories it is linked with. Also, I feel that it is an important element that connects to the Indian community.

Generations 1 and 2 and 3 feel that the only commonalities with India are language, food and religion. Generation 3 however feel that these are 'cosmetic' commonalities.

The images that came to mind when thinking about India for all three generations were 'the Indian flag…. taj mahal , 'Indira Ghandhi…. Mahathma Ghandhi' 'religion,'; poverty, Bollywood.

With respect to feeling connected to India, Generation 1 felt connected through Indian tradition and religious rituals Generation 2 felt connected through 'a spiritual, cultural and traditional connection with India'. While generation 3 felt connected through their forefathers, religion and cultural practices but at

the same time acknowledging the South African influence in shaping their identity

Conclusion

The findings although not generalizable demonstrates Indian identity has various meanings to the participants in the study. To some it means following Indian rituals, customs and traditions. For others it means being part of Indian heritage. For yet others it means having originated in India through lineage. However claiming Indian identity is not necessarily consistent amongst the three generations of respondents as discussed in the findings. South African Indians show willingness to continue Indian traditions and religious but claim to have adapted these according to some western (South African) influence. One strong recommendation of this study is to conduct a larger study exploring South African Indian Identity in depth. Although SA Indians practise various Indian traditions, customs and rituals they do not believe they belong to India suggesting a lack of objective Indian nationalism. We can therefore expect that interpretation of Indian identity will remain subjective and varied.

References

Anderson, B. 1983. *Imagined Communities.* London: Verso.

Bhaba, H. 1994. *The Location of Culture.* London: Routledge.

Bhana, S. & J. Brain 1990. *Indian Migrants in South Africa, 1860 – 1911.* Witwatersrand University Press, Johannesburg.

Bhana, S. & G. Vahed 2005. *The Making of a Political Reformer: Gandhi in South Africa, 1893-1914.* Manohar, New Delhi: University of Michigan.

Chetty, D. 1991. Identity, Interpretation and 'Indianness': Some Stories from the Natal Cane Fields. Paper presented to Association of Sociologists of South Africa conference, Cape Town, 1991.

De Vos, A.S. 2005. *Qualitative Data Analysis and Interpretation*. In De Vos, A.S., H. Strydom, C.B. Fouché & C.S.L. Delport 2005. *Research at Grass Roots for the Social Sciences and Human Science Professions.* 3rd Edition. Pretoria: Van Schaik.

Desai, A. & G. Vahed 2013. *Chatsworth: The Making of a South African Township.* Scottsville: University of KwaZulu-Natal Press.

D' Souza, B.R. 2008. *Harnessing the Trade Winds.* Nairobi: Zand Graphics Limited.

Dhupelia-Mesthrie, U. 2000. *From Cane Fields to Freedom: A Chronicle of Indian South African Life.* South Africa: National Book Printers.

Dhupelia-Mesthrie, U. 2007. The Limits of Visibility: Indian Women in the Transvaal, 1870s to 1930s. *The Oriental Anthropologist* 7,1:17-38.

Fanon, F. 1986. *Black Skin, White Masks.* London: Pluto Classic.

Gautam, K.M. 2013. *Indian Diaspora: Ethnicity and Diasporic Identity. CARIM-India Research Report 2013/29.* Leiden: Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies.

Braun, V. V. Clarke 2006. Using Thematic Analysis in Psychology. *Qualitative Research in Psychology* 3,2: 77-101. Available at: http://eprints.uwe.ac.uk/11735.

Gopal, N.D., S. Khan & S.B. Singh 2014. India and its Diaspora: Making Sense of Hindu Identity in South Africa. *Diaspora Studies* 7,1: 28 - 41.

Hardill, I. & P. Raghuram 1998. Diasporic Connections: Case Studies of Asian Women in Business. *Area* 30,3: 255 - 261.

Hiralal, K. 2013. Daughters of Gujarat in the Diaspora: Immigrant Women, Identity and Agency in Natal. *Journal for Contemporary History* 38,1:1 - 21.

Hole, E.S. 2005. *'Neither here – Nor there': An Anthropological Study of Gujarati Hindu Women in the Diaspora.* PhD, Uppsala University.

Klein, G.D. 1987. *South Africans of Gujarati - Indian Descent: Cultural, Structural and Ideological Dynamics within their Community.* PhD, Temple University.

Kuper, H. 1960. *Indian People in Natal.* Natal: At the University Press.

Malila, V. 2013. *A Baseline Study of Youth Identity, the Media and the Public Sphere in South Africa.* Pre-publication. Grahamstown: Rhodes University.

Landy, F., B. Maharaj & H. Mainet-Valleix 2004. *Are People of Indian Origin (PIO) 'Indian'? A Case Study of South Africa.* Available at:

https://www.academia.edu/21496651/Are_people_of_Indian_origin_PIO
_Indian_A_case_study_of_South_Africa. (Accessed on 21 November
2017.)

MacMillan, J.H. & S. Schumacher 2001. *Research in Education: A Conceptual
Introduction.* 5th Edition. Michigan: Addison Pearson, Longman.

Modi, R. 2010. Indian Communities in Africa. Africa Institute of South Africa.
Africa Insight 40,1.

Radhakrishnan, S. 2008. Examining the 'Global' Indian Middle Class: Gender
and Culture in the Silicon Valley/ Bangalore Circuit. *Journal of
Intercultural Studies* 29,1: 7 - 20.

Raman, P. 2004. Yusuf Dadoo: Transnational Politics, South African
Belonging. *South African Historical Journal* 50:27 - 48.

Roy, P. 2002. Reading Communities and Culinary Communities: The
Gastropoetics of the South Asian Diaspora. *East Asia Cultures Critique*
10.2: 471 - 502.

Vahed, G. 1997. Swami Shankeranand and the Consolidation of Hinduism in
Natal, 1908-1913. *Journal for the Study of Religion* 10,2: 3 - 34.

Werbner, P. 2002. *Imagined Diaspora among the Manchester Muslims: The
Public Performances of Pakistani Transnational Identity Politics.* Oxford:
James Curry.

Appendix 1: Demographic Information

Name of interviewee	Age	Gender	Linguistic Group	Generation Since Arrival in South Africa	Area
A1	80	Female	Tamil	1st	Durban
A2	67	Female	Hindi	2nd	Durban
A3	69	Male	Tamil	2nd	Durban
A4	76	Male	Hindi	1st	Durban
(A5)	79	Female	Tamil	1st	Durban
(A6)	86	Female	Tamil	1st	Durban
(A7)	67	Male	Tamil	1st	Durban
B1	48	Male	Tamil	3rd	Durban
B2	46	Female	Hindi	3rd	Durban
B3	53	Male	Tamil	2nd	Durban
B4	51	Male	Hindi	2nd	Durban
B5)	48	Female	Telegu	2nd	Durban
B6	53	Male	Tamil	2nd	Durban
B7	52	Male	Hindi	2nd	Durban
C1	25	Female	Hindi	4th	Durban
C2	21	Female	Hindi	4th	Durban

C3	40	Male	Telegu	3rd	Durban
C4	33	Male	Hindi	3rd	Durban
C5	23	Female	Telegu	3rd	Durban
C6	29	Female	Tamil	3rd	Durban
C7	30	Female	Hindi	3rd	Durban

Nirmala Gopal
Criminology and Forensic Studies
College of Humanities
University of KwaZulu-Natal
gopal@ukzn.ac.za

Bonita Marimuthu
Criminology and Forensic Studies
College of Humanities
University of KwaZulu-Natal
marimuthub@ukzn.ac.za